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ABSTRACT

The journal for teachers of Celtic languages in the United States and Canada contains six articles. "Motivation and Gender: A Welsh Case Study" (Christine M. Jones) examines data on characteristics of one group of students of Welsh, focusing on gender-related motivational differences. "Morphological Objects" (Annette McElligott, Gearoid O Neill) models the morphology of Irish inflectional verbs for the purpose of computer-assisted language instruction. In "The Status of Scottish Gaelic in Scotland" (Pamela S. Morgan), recent developments supporting the maintenance and revival of Scots Gaelic are described. "Developing Language Awareness in the Irish Language Classroom: A Case Study" (Muiris O Laoire) reports a study of Irish instruction in a class of secondary school children, in which a number of classroom instructional strategies were used to improve motivation and language awareness. "Teaching Irish at Antioch College" (Ron Crow) describes briefly an immersion approach tried at Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio, and "A Brief History of the Department of Celtic Studies, Saint Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia" (Kenneth E. Nilsen) describes briefly the varied activities of the Department of Celtic Studies at Saint Francis Xavier University in Nova Scotia, Canada. The university is the only one in North America that offers three levels of Scottish Gaelic. A book review, announcements of new publications, and professional announcements are also included. (MSE)

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Journal of Celtic Language Learning is an international review for researchers and teachers of modern Celtic Languages. The official publication of the North American Association for Celtic Language Teachers, ***JCLL*** includes papers presented at the association's annual conference in addition to manuscripts submitted by Celtic language scholars world-wide. It is also a forum in which Celtic language teachers can share insights into methodology with their peers.

JCLL's mission, similar to that of NAACLT, is to provide another forum in which teachers and applied linguists can contribute to the literature presently available on second language acquisition as well as increase communication among Celtic language teachers and researchers.

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SUBMISSIONS

- The *Journal of Celtic Language Learning* is published each autumn.
- The deadline for submissions is 15 April of each year.
- Those interested should submit four typed copies of their manuscript (two without any indication of the authors' name) to Dr. Nancy Stenson, Institute of Linguistics and Asian and Slavic Languages and Literatures, University of Minnesota, 190 Klaeber Court, 320-16th Avenue, SE, Minneapolis, MN 55455. Keep a disk (computer) copy of the paper. It will be requested in the case of acceptance.
- All submissions should be double spaced. Articles should be 2,500 to 3,000 words (with a 50 to 60 word abstract at the beginning) and short descriptions of a program or technique should be 200 to 500 words.
- All submissions will be refereed blindly by two anonymous readers.
- Comments from the referees will be forwarded to the authors together with the editors' decision regarding publishing after 15 September of the same year.

INDEXES

Articles published in the Journal of Celtic Language Learning are indexed in: LLBA (*Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts),* RIE *(Resources in Education)*, the Modern Language Association *International Bibliography,* and Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann's *Selected Articles from Language Journals*.

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JOURNAL OF CELTIC LANGUAGE LEARNING, 2, 6-19 (1996)

Motivation and Gender: A Welsh Case Study

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This paper attempts to show why one particular group of students has chosen to learn the Welsh language. Self-reported data reveals certain gender oriented motivational differences, with the male learners somewhat more inclined towards total linguistic and cultural immersion than their female counterparts. The author concludes with a brief discussion on the theoretical and practical significance of such findings.

GENERAL BACKGROUND

Only recently has research pursued the role of gender in language learning, with the emphasis very much being on the relationship between learner characteristics and language learning performance. It is taken as an established fact by people in general, that girls are better than boys in language ability, although the area of listening comprehension has proved to be an interesting exception (Boyle 1987). Few studies have addressed the question of motivational differences between the sexes, although many of those that have have found female students to be more positively oriented towards language study than their male counterparts. Gardner and Lambert (1972) reported that female learners of L2 French in Canada were more motivated than male learners and also had more positive attitudes towards speakers of the second language. Spolksy (1989) noted that girls learning Hebrew in Jewish schools showed more favourable attitudes to Hebrew, to Israel and to Israelis. In the case of Welsh similar conclusions were reached by both Sharp (1973) and Baker (1992). Studies on gender and motivation among adult

language learners are rarer and the results often conflicting. Ludwig (1983) found that male university students were more likely to undertake a language course because of the usefulness of it than were female students. On the other hand, Bacon and Finnemann (1992) reported that, in their analysis of university students of Spanish, it was the female respondents that tended to stress the practical reasons for learning the language, with increased job prospects being a prime attraction.

THE WELSH SITUATION

The reasons that learners give for learning a language can be categorised as integrative or instrumental (Gardner & Lambert 1959). Integrative motivation may be defined as learning a language to take part in the culture of its people, whilst instrumental motivation implies learning a language for a career reason or some other practical reason. Naturally the nature of integrative and instrumental motivation may change according to the status of the language being learnt. As stated by Spolsky (1989: 164) "it is the social situation then that indirectly affects second language learning by determining the learner's attitudes and motivation." When Jones (1949, 1950) undertook his pioneering work on attitudes to Welsh it was clear that positive attitudes towards the language decreased with age. The social and political climate has since changed somewhat - enough for C. Williams to be able to state in 1986 that a knowledge of English by itself is no longer considered a sufficient pre-requisite to prosperity and success in certain areas of Wales. Fluency in Welsh is now seen as a significant advantage in opening doors to further career opportunities. This new, positive regard for the language is reflected in the 1991 Census which gives the Welsh-speaking population of Wales as 508,098 - 18.6% of the total population. Aitchison and Carter (1994) make an interesting observation in their analysis of these figures:

> In terms of the total population able to speak Welsh nearly 10% (48,919) were born outside Wales. This is of some significance for it demonstrates the degree to which incomers have committed themselves to learning the language. (Aitchison and Carter 1994: 108)

13,388 adults registered in Welsh night classes in 1993, compared to 8,000 in 1988 (Prosser 1994). Is this marked increase economic, vocational, cultural, social or affiliative in origin? The adult-learning movement naturally hopes that the students' goal is integration. Baker (1992: 97) makes the following comment on the aims of the movement:

> The recent considerable expansion in the teaching of Welsh to adults in Wales by Ulpans, evening classes and summer schools presumably aims to influence attitudes to the Welsh language and culture in addition to teaching language skills.

Ulpan courses were introduced into Wales during the early seventies and were modelled on the adult-learning institutes which had been in operation in Israel since the 1950s to teach Hebrew to a large number of immigrants. Intensive courses teaching via the direct method, with the emphasis on active communication and participation, their aims in Israel were likewise twofold:

> The Ulpan is regarded in addition to its being a second language teaching system as a socialising agent in Israeli society and culture (Yehudit Rosenbaum in Crowe, 1988: 17).

THE LAMPETER SUMMER ULPAN

One particular Ulpan course which has proved extremely popular and successful during its twenty year history is the eight week residential Ulpan held annually at the University of Wales, Lampeter. The only one of its kind in Wales, it presumes no previous knowledge of the language and at the end of the four hundred hours of study, the

conscientious student can expect to have absorbed between three to four thousand items of active vocabulary. He/she should also be thoroughly familiarised with all the main sentence patterns and grammatical variables of the language. The opportunity to become virtually fluent in such a short space of time attracts a wide cross-section of prospective learners, from local newcomers to West Wales to students and researchers of minority languages world-wide.

PURPOSE AND METHOD OF STUDY

This study sought to discover why some majority language speakers choose to learn a minority language and whether male and female learners' attitudes and motivations are in anyway different from each other. During the summer of 1994, those attending the Lampeter Residential Ulpan, namely 18 women and 20 men, were asked at the end of the eight weeks to complete a questionnaire which was divided into three sections:

A. Personal
B. The Course
C. Reasons for learning the language

Although the number of learners involved was small and self-reported data is naturally limited, providing little indication of the actual effort learners put into their learning, I am confident, having taught on this course for a number of years, that the results and comments expressed here accurately represent those who choose to attend an intensive course of this nature.

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Discussion will concentrate on the learners' response to section C., namely reasons for learning the language. Twenty-four reasons for learning Welsh were presented on the questionnaire and the learners were asked to respond to as

many or as few of these as they wished. They were also given the opportunity to add their own reason and frequently these were extensions of statements 1-24. The percentages below show how often a particular statement was chosen by both the male and female course members:

		Male	Female
1.	Welsh will be useful in my work	50%	55.5%
2.	I will be a more complete Welsh person	40%	11.1%
3.	I want to live in Wales	40%	44.4%
4.	I live in an area where the majority of people speak Welsh	30%	44.4%
5.	I am Welsh	50%	33.3%
6.	I live in Wales and I ought to learn Welsh	50%	44.4%
7.	I enjoy coming to Wales on holiday	15%	16.7%
8.	Improved job prospects	40%	44.4%
9.	My parents were Welsh speaking	35%	16.7%
10.	Welsh is the mother tongue of my partner	15%	11.1%
11.	My children attend a Welsh school	10%	11.1%
12.	I want to help my children to learn Welsh	30%	16.7%
13.	I've got Welsh speaking friends	80%	50%
14.	To keep the language alive	60%	72.2%
15.	I like the language	85%	66.7%
16.	In order to read magazines and light novels	40%	27.7%
17.	I am interested in the history of Wales	65%	66.7%
18.	I like to learn about other cultures	35%	22.2%
19.	A general interest in Celtic languages/ in minority languages	40%	33.3%
20.	I want to read and study Welsh literature	50%	22.2%
21.	To attend Welsh cultural events	45%	22.2%
22.	To join Welsh societies	45%	16.7%
23.	To follow Welsh radio/television programmes	40%	33.3%
24.	To fulfil a dream	40%	5.5%
25.	Any other reason	40%	11.1%

It has frequently been observed that learners on an immersion type programme are more positive and homogeneous generally speaking in their attitudes and motivation with regard to learning a second language, than students maybe attending an evening class once a week. The percentages noted here certainly display a positive commitment to the language by both sexes, with the importance of belonging, identity and duty clearly apparent.

To quote one male and one female learner:

> I feel at home here. I shall do my utmost to belong. (f)

> I want to understand Welsh people through their language and learn about their way of life. I want to become part of it and through my work serve the Welsh in their own language. (m)

Such comments are welcomed by those involved in trying to preserve and sustain the language, as stated by Baker (1988: 168):

> To want to learn the indigenous language 'to belong' may create an enduring lifeline thrown by Welsh language teachers to their students, who reciprocally throw that lifeline to a future for the language.

The somewhat romantic notion of fulfilling a dream was popular interestingly enough, with the Anglo-Welsh male members of the course, who as statement 2 indicates tended to see the ability to speak Welsh as the true symbol of Welshness. Half of the male course members were of Anglo-Welsh origin and half of the female course members. Bourhis *et al.* (1973: 457) conclude their research paper into Welsh identity with the statement that, in their opinion, "to possess a full Welsh identity one needs at least to be involved in learning the language." Although this seemed the case with regard to the male course members, the female Anglo-Welsh learners did not appear to equate language with identity to the same degree. Such a variation merits further detailed study and a further analysis of other intensive Welsh courses is in progress, this time using a questionnaire based on scalar responses, so as to ensure a more textured view of the motivational factors involved.

Returning to the present study, closer observation of all twenty-five statements reveals that the desire to join the Welsh community, especially in the case of those born outside Wales, had in fact, regardless of gender, less to do with the language itself than the culture it represents:

> Through the Welsh language I can better appreciate the history of the Celts. (f)

Thus echoing the sentiments of Bobi Jones (1993: 41):

> In Wales it is quite impossible to know the past, emotionally and intellectually, in its full significance as a comprehensive tradition without knowing the Welsh language.

It is true that 14% of the male course members and 16% of the female course members were Celtic Studies students, but this positive interest in Welsh history was expressed by over 65% of the learners in general. Interestingly Ludwig (1983) stated that although more men than women tend to dislike courses with low cultural content, none of the male students in her study exhibited any marked interest in cultural or literary values.

The opposite was also true here in the case of literature as indicated by the response to statement 20. The responses to statements 16, 18, 19 and 23 show a similar, if not so exaggerated, trend, with the male learners appearing slightly more in favour of total cultural and literary immersion than their female counterparts. This may not have been their original intention - many cited the growing attraction of such values as their fluency increased.

> Now I am more interested in Welsh literature - I want to learn about Wales, its history and its literature, not just the language. There is more to Welsh than the language. (m)

> I want to learn more Welsh now because I want to understand Welsh programmes on t.v. and on the radio and read books and magazines. (m)

Second language learning to many became synonymous with second culture learning and as their knowledge of the language developed, social orientations came into play. Here too findings differ from certain previous studies. In Politzer's (1983) study of language learning

strategies, females reported a significantly greater likelihood than males to engage in second language social interactions with others outside the classroom. Bacon and Finnemann (1992) also noted that the women they questioned were more likely to report that they had Spanish-speaking friends than the men questioned. Here as indicated by statement 13, the male learners seemed to put far greater importance on the role of Welsh-speaking friends in the motivation process than did the female learners. Of course friendship can mean many things and duty and respect have a role to play:

> My Welsh speaking friends turn to English when I am there - they're very polite. I should be polite also and learn their language so they don't need to turn to English. (m)

The popularity of statements 21 and 22 amongst the male members of the course once more implies that they were, or intend to be, more socially interactive with regards to the Welsh language than the female course members. It should be noted however that Welsh societies were often treated with suspicion or contempt by those of either sex not living in Wales. Comments such as:

> Welsh societies give a false picture of those living in Wales (f)

were not uncommon, suggesting the need maybe for Welsh societies, both in Wales and further afield, to reconsider their image.

As mentioned earlier, some language surveys have shown men to be more instrumentally oriented than women whilst others have shown the opposite. In this particular instance there was very little difference between the two sexes, with reasons 1 and 8 proving popular choices with both. When asked to give their prime motivation based on the twenty-four statements already noted, together with number 25, any other reason, the result was as follows:

	Male		Female	
Statement	1	28.3	1	26
	8	16.6	8	20.3
	15	15	14	14.8

Does this imply therefore that both sexes were learning the language purely for personal gain? I think not, for to cite Ely (1986: 28)

> It is not always easy to distinguish between integrative and instrumental motivation. In fact, it is possible that a particular reason for language study can be either integrative or instrumental depending on the social and psychological factors involved.

Of course there is a great difference between having to speak Welsh at work and choosing to do so, and had the statement been worded differently then the percentages may have been very different. But it is important to remember that for many individuals the ability to use a minority language such as Welsh in an everyday work environment is 'to have arrived', as it were. It signifies complete integration and total acceptance by first language Welsh speakers, as the following learner explained:

> Now that I've gotten a start I plan to become fluent, so I can do everything in the language, work through it as well as play in it. (f)

This was not true of all, of course; the increased public awareness surrounding the language did and does play a part:

> I am unemployed and hope that by knowing some Welsh it will be easier to find a job I like. (f)

What does seem important, even if the reason is largely instrumental, is that there should be, to quote Lennon (1993: 42), "some sort of personal involvement with the language." The popularity of reasons 15 and 14 seems to reflect such an involvement in this instance, although I

appreciate that the percentages and numbers involved are small.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Whilst the increasing use of the Welsh language in public life and education can be seen even from this small sample of Welsh learners, to have a significant role in the growth of the adult-learning movement, committed learners attracted to a course of this kind are not generally purely mercenary in nature. Trosset (1986: 183) states that in the light of her own experience, "one cannot learn Welsh without entering in a significant way into the culture of Welsh-Wales," and such a sentiment seemed generally shared by both sexes in this survey. These statistics do indicate, however, rather a greater commitment on the part of the male course members to "become part of the social world of its speakers" (Wong-Fillmore 1976: 666).

An interesting comparison can be drawn with Davies' (1986) survey of Welsh learners in night classes in Clwyd, North Wales which also concluded that men are more likely than women to choose integrative reasons for learning the language. Davies found that women learners of Welsh were more inclined to be motivated by partners or families. Such motives played little part in this case study, but it must be stressed that this is not the type of course that would appeal to learners with young children. Not only is it held in the summer holidays, but the lessons continue until 8:15 each evening. However on the subject of integrativeness, it should be noted that 30% of the males, compared to 16.7% of the females, expressed a wish to pass the language on to their children or future children. Of course these figures may be due in part to the fact that 35% of the male respondents, compared to 16% of the females, cited Welsh-speaking parents as a motivational factor. Given the smallness of the sample discussed here, it would have been impractical to have separated the responses of those with Welsh-speaking parents from those without;

however, the more extensive research project now in progress intends considering the possible influential role of this variable.

It is clear therefore, that whilst personal comments and statistics presented here suggest that the Ulpan is succeeding in its aim, much work remains to be done on a theoretical as well as a practical level. Unfortunately the gulf between researcher and teacher remains wide, both in Wales and beyond. Teachers frequently see motivation in a different light to researchers:

> When teachers say that a student is motivated they are not usually concerning themselves with the student's reason for studying but are observing that the student does study (Crookes and Schmidt 1989: 227).

Researchers need to deal with motivation from the teacher's point of view, whilst teachers and course organisers need to be made more aware of the results of investigations in order to plan and develop their teaching strategies. With regard to the practical implications of surveys such as the one discussed here, Cook (1991: 75) makes the following observation:

> The choice of teaching materials and the information content of the lesson for example should correspond to the motivations of the student.

In view of the above comment textbook writers concerned with providing an optimum learning environment for all students should consider the question of gender oriented motivational differences when designing syllabuses. A national survey of the communicative needs of 979 Welsh learners in 1989 considered this question carefully (Hughes 1989). It concluded that females tended to stress the importance of social communicative objectives whilst males were more prepared to select objectives such as giving advice or disagreeing. Interestingly, the variations were not considered sufficient enough to have any effect on the provision of communicative material. The high level of

motivational homogeneity present in my own small sample leads me to a similar conclusion although I do feel that another national survey is called for, especially as the drop-out rate among female Welsh learners on non-intensive courses remains high. With regard to motivational homogeneity, I would stress that the importance placed on the media by both genders in this survey suggests that additional second language programmes based on the communicative method would be beneficial as well as being a valuable and important step towards extending the current provision. Another aspect worthy of further attention, considering the emphasis placed by both genders on the importance of learning a language in a cultural context, is the provision and role of extra-curricular activities in residential, intensive courses. Learning fatigue is common in intensive courses and variety in both teaching methods and extra-curricular activities is a must.

Bearing the above suggestions in mind, it is to be hoped that this paper will contribute to the process of assessing the communicative needs of the adult Welsh learner, as well as to the development of effective teaching methods. The growing emotional awareness of the language, together with a sense of social responsibility, is encouraging. In the restoration of minority languages such as Welsh, as stated by Jones (1993: 10):

> ... the determining factor is and must be the adult-learning movement.

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Morphological Objects

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The inflectional component of the morphology of Irish verbs, as expressed in various grammar books, is modelled using the methods of the object-oriented paradigm. These methods facilitate the creation of the inflected form of the verb and the generation of a computer assisted language learning (CALL) system. In this CALL system the methods are a vehicle for generating exercises and explanations of how to determine inflected forms.

KEYWORDS

morphology, object-oriented technology, computer assisted language learning, Irish language

INTRODUCTION

A morphological analysis identifies the set of minimal meaningful units called morphemes which constitute words and specifies the constraints on the relative order of morphemes in a word. Bloomfield (1933) defined a morpheme as "a linguistic form which bears no partial phonetic-semantic resemblance to any other form."

Object orientation, or the object oriented approach, views the world as a set of autonomous agents termed objects, rather than procedures, that collaborate to perform some higher level behaviour (Tello, 1989). The object oriented approach utilises encapsulation, classification, and inheritance (Booch, 1991).

An object has state (static and dynamic), behaviour (respond to actions), and can be uniquely identified. Objects that have similar structure and behaviour are defined in a common class. The actions that are defined for an object or class are termed methods (Booch, 1991), for example, the operations or methods that may be applied to the class called *file* include *open*, *close*, and *delete*. Objects communicate by passing messages which are requests to execute a method, such communication can be unidirectional or bi-directional.

Object oriented technology concepts were adopted in determining the structure for the electronic version of a monolingual Irish dictionary (McElligott and Ó Néill, 1993). The dictionary at the core of this work was *An Foclóir Beag* (Roinn Oideachais, 1991). The work presented here was prompted by the fact that this dictionary contains very limited information pertaining to verbs.

This analysis of regular verbs involves determining for each root form its conjugation, assigning it a class, and applying the rules pertaining to this class, in order to generate the various forms for each tense and mood where appropriate. The morphological rules are a combination of the concatenation of morphemes and other operations. The representation method chosen for these rules facilitates: (a) the separation of linguistic knowledge from program detail, (b) the explanation of word-formation and word-variation principles and (c) the generation of answers to exercises together with an explanation of these suggested solutions.

MORPHOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Morphology can be subdivided into two primary fields: inflectional morphology and derivational morphology. The primary concern of this work is the inflectional aspect that studies the manner in which words vary to express grammatical contrasts in sentences (Anderson, 1988).

Generally, inflecting a word does not change its syntactic category. The inflections of a word are dependent on the category. Typically, inflections are subgrouped into what are known as morphological classes. In some languages some parts of speech are put into subgroups, for example, nouns are grouped into declensions and verbs are grouped into conjugations. In Irish verbs inflect for number, person, mood, tense, and voice. There exists a root morpheme for each verb followed by a conjugational marker referred to as a theme or extension. The purpose of the theme is to establish a base on which to attach the inflectional desinences and to define the separate morphological classes. A paradigm in this domain of linguistics is the term given to a set of grammatically conditioned forms all derived from a single root or stem (Spencer, 1991).

There are two consonantal groups, broad and slender. Changing the quality of the ending consonantal cluster is used extensively for inflection in Irish. Replacing a broad consonantal cluster with a slender one is termed attenuation (*caolú*), for example, in *bád* the *d* is broad unlike *báid* where the *d* is slender, indicated by the addition of the slender vowel *i* (see Notes 1 and 2). Attenuation is represented in various ways, primarily, by placing the slender vowel *i* between the broad vowel and the consonant, for example, *bás* → *báis*. Another means is by removing the broad vowel that precedes the consonant and assigning a slender vowel to its place, for example, *éan* → *éin*. Replacing a slender consonantal cluster with a broad one is called broadening (*leathnú*), for example, *cuir* → *cur* (see Note 2). Syncopation (*coimriú*) is the omission of one or more letters from the body of a word, for example, *imir* → *imrím*. "More technically, the terms velarised and palatalised are used for broad and slender respectively" (Roinn Oideachais, 1986).

The rules that will be described below demonstrate the inflectional component of morphology. An attempt is made to show how these rules can be used to process

regular verb forms thus illustrating the inflectional aspect of morphology.

CHARACTERISTICS OF VERBS

As previously stated, verbs in Irish are inflected for number, person, mood, tense, and voice. There are three persons singular and three persons plural. The conjugations in Irish are achieved by a combination of synthetic and analytic verb forms. Synthetic verb forms are those which express action + person + number in one word, for example, *bhrisfinn* (*I would break*). Analytic verb forms are those which need personal pronouns to express person and number, for example, *bhris sé* (*he broke*). Generally, in modern Irish, there are four tenses and three moods as follows:

Tenses	Moods
- present tense (*aimsir láithreach*)	- conditional mood (*modh coinníollach*)
- past tense (*aimsir chaite*)	- imperative mood (*modh ordaitheach*)
- habitual past (*aimsir ghnáthchaite*)	- present subjunctive mood (*modh foshuiteach láithreach*)
- future tense (*aimsir fháistineach*)	

There are two voices to be considered, active and passive, in the former the subject does the acting whereas the subject is acted on in the latter. The passive form, usually referred to as the autonomous form in Irish grammar, is the verb form that expresses the verbal action without any mention of subject, person, or number, for example, *tógtar* (*it is taken*).

A special form of the verb that is declined and treated in every way like a noun is called the verbal noun (Mac Giolla Phádraig, 1953). The verbal adjective describes a state resulting from an action, for example, *Tá an bord briste* (*The table is broken*).

In an inflectional system verbs may be classified into regular, irregular, and defective. A verb is regular if it retains the same root in all tenses and moods. Regular verbs are categorised into two conjugations, first conjugation and second conjugation. The general attributes pertaining to first and second conjugation verbs are as follows: (Ó Murchú and Ó Murchú, 1990)

First Conjugation	Second Conjugation
- polysyllabic roots ending in *áil*	- polysyllabic roots ending in *(a)igh*
- those with monosyllabic roots, for example, *bris*, *dún*	- polysyllabic roots ending in *(a)il*, *(a)in*, *(a)ir*, and *(a)is*
- some other polysyllabic verbs	- some other verbs

Regardless of conjugation, the initial consonant of all forms of regular verbs is lenited in the past tense, in the conditional mood, and in the imperfect tense with the exception of the autonomous form in the past tense. A verb whose initial letter is a vowel is prefixed with *d'* and a verb whose initial letter is *f* is lenited (see Note 3) and prefixed with *d'*, for example, the past tense first person singular of *ól* (*drink*) is *d'ól mé* (*I drank*) and for *fág* (*leave*) is *d'fhág mé* (*I left*).

Another trait of commonality regarding these conjugations is in their formation of the first, second, and third persons singular and plural in the past tense together with the second person singular in the imperative mood. The analytic form has added to it the pronouns *mé/tú/sé/sí/sibh/siad* once the initial consonant has been lenited in the past tense, whereas the second person imperative is the same as the root form (*fréamh*) (McGonagle, 1991).

CLASS AND RULE STRUCTURES

In the approach taken here classes have been applied to words. A word is a class and its associated parts of speech are subclasses. Classes and subclasses may have methods associated with them. Methods at the lower levels of a subclass override the methods previously specified at the class or subclass level, for example, the class word contains the subclasses noun, verb, and so forth. Each subclass is further subdivided to allow for the morphological classes within a part of speech, for example, the morphological classes for regular verbs are termed conjugations (cf. figure 1).

class: *word*
methods: applicable to all words
...
subclass: *verb*
methods: applicable to all verbs
subclass: *regular verbs*
methods: applicable to all regular verbs
subclass: *first conjugation verbs*
methods: applicable to all first conjugation verbs
...
...

Figure 1 Application of Object-Oriented Terminology to Words

Desinences for regular verbs usually depend on whether the root form ends in a broad or slender consonant and on the associated conjugation of the verb, for example, the desinences of first conjugation verbs in the present tense where the root ends in a broad consonant or a slender consonant are as follows:

Uatha/Ioira Singular/Plural	Broad Consonant	Slender Consonant
1u:	aim	im
2u: 3u: 2i: 3i	ann	eann
1i:	aimid	imid
sb:	tar	tear

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Some characteristics exist for all parts of speech whereas others are common to a specific part of speech or to a subclass therein. In relation to regular verbs the characteristics common to all classes are specified as follows:

subclass: *regular verbs*
methods: *Past Tense*

1st person singular:	*fréamh, séimhiú + mé*
2nd person singular:	*fréamh, séimhiú + tú*
3rd person singular masculine:	*fréamh, séimhiú + sé*
3rd person singular feminine:	*fréamh, séimhiú + sí*
2nd person plural:	*fréamh, séimhiú + sibh*
3rd person plural:	*fréamh, séimhiú + siad*

Imperative Mood

2nd person plural:	*fréamh*

...
subclass: *first conjugation verbs*
methods: applicable to all first conjugation verbs
...

Figure 2 Methods Common to the Subclass of Regular Verbs

Since regular verbs take on various desinences, the subclass of first conjugation and second conjugation verbs have been further subclassified. Some of these subclassifications are explicitly enumerated. This analysis resulted in eighteen subclasses for first conjugation regular verbs and seven subclasses for second conjugation regular verbs (cf. Figure 3a and Figure 3b). It is possible to combine some classes, for example, the subclasses 1 and 2 of second conjugation verbs only differ in whether the root form has a broad or slender ending, that which in turn determines whether the desinence is broad or slender.

The methods pertaining to the rules are: attenuation, broadening, lenition, syncopation as previously stated, and another to deal with the notion of words ending in *th* or *t*. A general rule pertaining to verbs regardless of class is that when a verb ending in *t* or *th* takes on a desinence that begins with *t* the combinations *tt* or *tht* become *t*, for example, *ith* + *tear* → *itear* (The Christian Brothers, 1990). As well as methods the rules contain the

mathematical operators + and - for the addition and deletion of one or more characters respectively. A rule is interpreted from left to right, for example, the rule *fréamh, séimhiú - igh + íodh* translates to:

fréamh	:	get the root form of the verb
,	:	is a delimiter, no changes resulting
séimhiú	:	apply the method for lenition
-igh	:	remove *igh* from the end of the lenited form
+íodh	:	concatenate the ending *íodh*

Sub-class	Attributes	Ending	Examples
1	verbs of one syllable	*áigh/eoigh/iaigh/ uaigh/óigh/úigh*	*báigh/reoigh/iaigh/luaigh/clóigh/ úigh*
2	verbs of one syllable	*éigh*	*pléigh*
3	verbs of one syllable	*ígh*	*maígh*
4	verbs of one syllable	*igh*	*nigh*
5		*áil*	*sabháil*
6[1]			*adhlaic, argóin, ceiliúir, dí-adhlaic, diúraic, eisachaid, fóin, gearáin, fothraig, iomlaisc, seachaid, siúil, stiúir, taispeáin, tiolaic, tionlaic, tionóil, tochais, tuaslaig, urlaic*
7	monosyllabic	broad vowel	*dún*
8	monosyllabic	slender vowel	*bris*
9			*adhain, adhair, gleadhair, leadhair*
10			*deighil, faighid, feighil*
11			*fuirsigh*
12			*agaill, bailc, braich, buain, comhaill, maidhm, teasairg, tiomairg, tiúin*
13			*aisig*
14			*sleabhaic*
15			*diongaibh*
16			*innill*
17			*tadhaill*
18			*tafainn*

Figure 3a Subclasses of First Conjugation Verbs[2]

[1] Subclasses 6, 9-18 of the first conjugation and subclasses 5 - 7 of the second conjugation are explicitly enumerated subclasses.

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Sub-class	Attributes	Ending	Examples
1	polysyllabic	*aigh*	*tosaigh*
2	polysyllabic	*igh*	*dúisigh*
3		*il/in/irlis*	*coigil/aithin/aifir/inis*
4		*ail/ailt/ain/air*	*codail, oscailt, cogain, agair*
5			*aithris, díolaim, foghlaim, fulaing, tarraing, tharraing, tuirling*
6			*lorg*
7			*freastail, taistil*

Figure 3b Subclasses of Second Conjugation Verbs[2]

The rules as specified for the future tense of subclass 1 of first conjugation verbs are as follows:

Aimsir Fháistineach (Future Tense):

subclass1:

1u/2u/3uf/3ub/2i/3i: *fréamh - igh + faidh + mé/tú/sé/sí/sibh/siad*
1i: *fréamh - igh + faimid*
sb: *fréamh - igh + far*

From section 4, an example of a verb in this classification is *dóigh*. Applying these rules to this root form yields the following:

Rule: 1u/2u/3uf/3ub/2i/3i: *fréamh - igh + faidh + mé/tú/sé/sí/sibh/siad*
Application: *dóigh - igh + faidh + mé/tú/sé/sí/sibh/siad*
dófaidh mé/tú/sé/sí/sibh/siad

Rule: 1i: *fréamh - igh + faimid*
Application: *dóigh - igh + faimid*
dófaimid

Rule: sb: *fréamh - igh + far*
Application: *dóigh - igh + far*
dófar

[2] Subclasses represent variations in inflected forms in one or more of the tenses or moods.

EXPLANATION OF WORD-FORMATION AND WORD-VARIATION PRINCIPLES

As well as illustrating word-formation and word-variation principles these rules are used to explain suggested solutions to exercises.

Ainm Briathartha/ Verbal Noun: tógáil	**Fréamh/Root:** tóg / *take*
Aidiacht Bhriathartha/ Verbal Adjective: tógtha	**Réimniú/Conjugation:** 1

Aimsir Fháistineach/ Future Tense	**Cabhair/Help**
	Faigh an fhréamh tóg / *get the root* tóg
1u: tógfaidh mé	Cuir leis an fhoirm thuas an fhoirceann 'faidh'
2u: tógfaidh tú	Úsáidtear an fhoirm seo le: mé tú sé sí sibh siad
3uf: tógfaidh sé	/ *append the ending* 'faidh' *for* mé tú sé sí sibh siad
3ub: tógfaidh sí	
1i: tógfaimid	Cuir leis an fhoirm thuas an fhoirceann 'faimid'
2i: tógfaidh sibh	Úsáidtear an fhoirm seo don chéad phearsa iolra
3i: tógfaidh siad	/ *append* 'faimid' *for 1st pers. plural*
sb: tógfar	Cuir leis an fhoirm thuas an fhoirceann 'far'
	Úsáidtear an fhoirm seo don saorbhriathar
	/ *append* 'far' *for the passive*

Figure 4 Example of Exercise and Explanation Facility

The student can choose which verb, tense and so on to work on or get the system to do the selecting. Usually, the verbal noun, verbal adjective, the root form and conjugational class are displayed. The user may choose to complete the exercise on her or his own or have the system automatically complete the task. If the former option is taken the individual enters the first, second, and third persons singular and plural together with the autonomous form of the verb or if a form is unknown the enter key is pressed. The system alerts the student to any errors in the exercise. The system can give an explanation (in Irish or English) of how the task at hand should be completed (cf. figure 4).

SUMMARY

In this work knowledge about morphological constituents is expressed in the form of objects and the inflectional processes are viewed as methods. The relationships that hold between these methods are represented as rules covering the morphology of regular verbs. The approach presented here allows for the naming of methods which assists with illustrating the inflectional aspects of morphology together with the generation of a CALL system. In this instance the rules were applied to regular verbs but the approach could be applied to other parts of speech, syntactic constructs, and possibly other natural languages.

Notes

1. Vowels in Irish are classified into broad and slender. The elements of the broad set include the letters *a*, *o*, and *u* with the slender set having the members *e* and *i*. The elements of these sets may be accented or unaccented. In Irish an accented character is denoted with a stroke or length accent over the particular letter which is termed a *síneadh fada* giving *á*, *é*, *í*, *ó*, and *ú* appearing in lowercase and uppercase. In addition, the combination *ae* is considered to be a member of the set of broad vowels.

2. Consonants may be have a broad or slender quality. A consonant or group of consonants are broad if the neighbouring vowel is broad, for example, in *doras* the consonants are all broad. Similarly, a consonant or group of consonants are slender if the neighbouring vowel is a slender vowel, for example, in *deifir* all consonants are slender. If a consonant or any combination of consonants comes between two vowels they are usually either slender or broad, for example, in *solas* the *o* and *a* are broad and in *tinneas* the *i* and *e* are slender. This forms the basis for a generally accepted rule in Irish orthography that is stated as *caol le caol agus leathan le leathan (slender with slender*

and broad with broad). In order to comply with this rule changes must be made in order to achieve agreement that can be summarised as:

* the broad vowel is made agree with the slender vowel
* the slender vowel is made agree with the broad vowel
* the vowel before the consonant is changed
* the vowel after the consonant is changed (Joyce, 1920)

3. Lenition, commonly termed aspiration in grammar books on Irish written in English, is a system that modifies the sound of consonants. The consonants *b*, *c*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *m*, *p*, *s*, and *t* are subject to lenition and are called the mutable or aspirable consonants. Lenition is marked in Gaelic type by placing a dot (˙) over the lenited consonant and in Roman type by placing *h* after the aspirated consonant, for example, *bh*. If *s* is directly followed by any of the letters *c*, *f*, *m*, *p*, *t*, or *v* no lenition occurs (Ó Murchú and Ó Murchú, 1990). Eclipsis is similar to lenition in that certain letters are suppressed and other analogous sounds substituted. The characters *b*, *c*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *p*, *s*, and *t* are eclipsed by *m*, *g*, *n*, *bh*, *n*, *b*, *t*, and *d* respectively. Vowels may be prefixed by *n, h or t*. While the letter being eclipsed and the letter forming the actual eclipsis are written it is only the eclipsing letter that is sounded, for example, *a mbád* is pronounced *a mád*.

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The Status of Scottish Gaelic in Scotland*

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Although it is too early to predict a permanent resurgence for Scottish Gaelic, recent developments have been encouraging. Employment opportunities for Gaelic speakers are better; government support for more Gaelic television, radio, and the arts has increased; and, most important of all, there has been an increase in the last two years in the number of Gaelic learners, including the number of Gaelic-medium playgroups and elementary schools and the overall number of young adults and teenagers claiming some level of Gaelic skill. Although absolute numbers are still relatively small, percentages of increase are very large (doubling in some cases), and the enthusiasm of participants is quite high.

"Tha Gàidhlig beo!" ('Gaelic lives!')—motto, *An Comunn Gàidhlig*

AN OVERVIEW[1]

The bad news is that only 1.45% of the population of Scotland spoke Gaelic at the time of the 1991 census, many (not surprisingly) elderly. The number of fluent speakers was still decreasing, and some long-standing, negative social and linguistic stereotypes still existed.

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* A shorter version of this paper was presented at the 1995 Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America. The information contained in this paper may usefully be compared with similar earlier surveys (for example, Mackinnon, 1993; Thomson, 1981).

However, there is considerable good news as well. Although it is of course too soon to be overly sanguine, there are at present encouraging increases in every aspect of Gaelic usage. The number of Gaelic learners is much larger than before, and some of these learners are already approaching fluency. Percentages of learners and speakers under 25, especially those aged 5-15 in the Highlands and Western Isles, have increased. Learners' materials and teaching methods have greatly improved in the last ten to twenty years, and this is now bearing fruit. Gaelic is no longer seen as so difficult as to be "unteachable" and "unlearnable"—an attitude that previously prevented attention to pedagogy. Generally negative societal attitudes toward Gaelic, while still present, have also dramatically decreased. Although the reported numbers may in fact be high, given the Gaelic learners' association (CLI) estimate presented below, a general change of attitude is indicated by recent surveys by the BBC and others that claim that over 250,000 people are actively learning Gaelic, about 1 million Scots (about one-fifth of the population of Scotland) are interested in learning Gaelic (although many people may confuse Scots and Gaelic when asked; Hardie, 1995), and more than 1.5 million people are regularly watching Gaelic television programs.

SOME BACKGROUND

Scottish English is Standard English spoken with a distinctive regional accent and with lexical and other influences from Scots and Gaelic. Scots is an independent development from Northern Anglo-Saxon. Scottish Gaelic, or just Gaelic, is Celtic. Norse was also a linguistic influence in Scotland, especially in the north. Although Scottish English is spoken throughout the country, the historic "Highland Line" dividing the Gaelic-speaking areas of the "Gàidhealtachd" (the regions of Argyll, Sutherland, Ross

and Cromarty, Inverness, and the Western Isles, including Skye, Lewis, and Harris) from the Scots-speaking areas (the "Lowlands") is still useful (see Figure 1).

The chief reasons for the post-medieval decline of Gaelic in Scotland may be summarized as follows (after K. MacKinnon, in Withers, 1984, 4-5): (i) influx of English speakers, (ii) association of English with prestige and power, and Gaelic speakers' acceptance of a negative evaluation of Gaelic, (iii) forced emigration of speakers (the "Clearances"), (iv) economic and associated cultural changes leading to a decline in Gaelic use.

The crowns of Scotland and England have been politically united since 1603, and the parliaments since 1707, although periodically "Scottish" cultural revivals have occurred in Gaelic or Scots. Currently there is renewed interest in some form of constitutional separation (see below).

CENSUS FIGURES

The latest census (1991) indicated a decrease in the number of people knowing Gaelic, from about 83,000 (approximately 1.6%) in 1981 to roughly 70,000 (about 1.4%) in 1991 (General Register Office for Scotland, 1993, 755). (The census question asked, for persons at least three years of age, "Can the person speak, read or write Scottish Gaelic?" and provided tick boxes for the three options, although without attempting any assessment of fluency; the results have been tabulated both separately and in combination, by age, and by location; see General Register Office for Scotland, 1993, Tables M and 67; 1995, Table 4.) Regardless of the shortcomings of census figures, these numbers are sobering, and follow a century of decreases in absolute numbers (except for an increase from 1961 to 1971), although the percentage of total population (about 1.6%) remained the same in 1961, 1981, and 1991. (For detailed analyses of earlier census figures,

see Withers, 1984, pp. 213-239, and the various publications of K. MacKinnon.) However, we can hope that

Figure 1: The Gàidhealtachd

and the Highland Line

with the present surge in learners the next census will show an increase.

Gaelic speakers live primarily in the Highland counties and the Western Islands; in the Glasgow City/Strathclyde region (about 1.1% of Glasgow City's 900,000 population speaks Gaelic); and in pockets in the rest of Scotland, including Edinburgh and other Lowland cities.

EMPLOYMENT AND GOVERNMENT SUPPORT

Fewer medical, social, church, and local government workers than before need Gaelic, although they still occasionally learn it (D. Meek, personal communication, December 12, 1995). Unlike Irish, Scottish Gaelic has not had an official status in the civil service.

In general, however, the number of jobs for which Gaelic is desirable or even required has been increasing during the last ten or fifteen years, especially lately. At least one thousand jobs today require Gaelic speakers (G. Parsons, personal communication, December 6, 1995); a knowledge of Gaelic is useful in many others. According to an informational flyer about the Department of Celtic at the University of Edinburgh, "Employment opportunities for graduates fluent in Scottish Gaelic . . . are more plentiful now than they have ever been. Indeed in some areas there are more Gaelic-related jobs than there are people qualified to fill them" (University of Edinburgh, Department of Celtic, 1995). However, it has been pointed out that this is in fact a precarious situation, since the Gaelic-essential posts involve "teaching, broadcasting or otherwise promoting the language," with the result that "their existence is due, directly or indirectly, to public interest" and "public demand." Therefore, if these posts are not filled due to an insufficient present number of competent speakers, the future of Gaelic may ironically be endangered (Galloway, 1994, p. 144).

One of the major areas of Gaelic-related jobs is that of teaching. There is increasing enrollment at all levels, from Gaelic-medium preschool playgroups and primary schools, to some secondary schools, to universities, colleges, and continuing education programs (see below).

The second major area of Gaelic-related jobs is that of the media, especially television. The 1990 Broadcasting Act allocated considerable monies to increase the number of hours of Gaelic programming. Some monetary support has also been provided by the Celtic League, since proponents of Manx Gaelic see progress in Scottish Gaelic as helpful to them. In December 1995, daily children's programming in the afternoons—up to two hours on some days—provided animated and live action television programs hosted by fluent Gaelic speakers in their twenties. (The first children's television program in Gaelic began in 1981.) Since 1993 there has been an evening Gaelic program on current European issues (interviews and discussion with fluent Gaelic speakers involved in European affairs) called *Eòrpa*; there are five-minute news summaries twice a day; and *Machair*, a soap opera for Gaelic learners, has reached the intermediate level (third series) and is extremely popular. There are Gaelic learners' programs on the radio (for example, in Perthshire), although Radio nan Gaidheal is not yet available throughout Scotland.

At least two newspapers (one quarterly) are published wholly or partly in Gaelic, and book publishing has been flourishing. Gaelic books have been featured in the British booth at the important international Frankfurt Book Fair, and in 1994 television-related learners' materials were selected for promotion throughout Scotland by the Scottish Publishers Association (Sabhal Mór Ostaig, WWW, accessed December 1995). However, "the greatest overall commitment by publishers was to work for children and young people" (Gaelic Books Council, 1993, p. 19), and the first Gaelic-Gaelic dictionary (for schools) was

published in 1992. There are many established and new publishers of books and pedagogical material, both large (Gairm, Acair, Cànan) and small.

The Scottish Arts Council has provided monetary and other support to literature, drama, and other arts, in part through the Gaelic Arts Project. Singing in Gaelic (for example, the National Mod) has also grown in public interest and participation. National and local cultural organizations devoted to the promotion of Gaelic also receive government funding.

Some businesses and local development agencies are actively seeking Gaelic speakers. For example, in December an advertisement seeking a Gaelic-speaking "Project Manager" for a three-year joint public/private local development project was posted at the University of Aberdeen. Government support is provided through regional development boards and Local Enterprise Companies, which support cultural and economic "development of the Gaelic language and culture as a means of raising self-confidence and stimulating economic and social development" in order to "raise the profile of Gaelic, consolidate the Gaelic infrastructure and integrate Gaelic initiatives into general [community] development policies" (Fenton and MacDonald, 1994, p. 178). Gaelic-related tourism (hotels, tours, national and local festivals of poetry and music) is also increasing.

EDUCATION

The area with the most promise for the long-term survival of Gaelic is of course that of new learners, both adults and children, and once again the current increase in popular interest is encouraging. A 1995-96 United Kingdom survey conducted by Comann an Luchd-Ionnsachaidh (CLI, a Gaelic learners' association) reported evening and daytime courses (weekdays and weekends), from beginners to advanced, at schools, community centers, colleges, and

continuing education centers, and by Gaelic societies. Estimates are that in 1995 about 6000 people were attending classes, with another 20,000 learning by television, distance learning, and so on.

Teaching materials and Gaelic-medium schools have received funding through the Scottish Office, including grants of more than half a million pounds total to Sabhal Mór Ostaig (see below) and to the Gaelic Playgroups Association (Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Araich) alone. Fenton and MacDonald (1994) have estimated that over 1700 children were enrolled in over 100 playgroups or preschools in 1993-94; more recent estimates (Sabhal Mór Ostaig, WWW, accessed December 1995; G. Parsons, personal communication, December 6, 1995; J. Malone, personal communication, December 23, 1995; Rigby, 1995) suggest that the number of groups across Scotland is now about 150 to 200 and the number of children over 2500. The first Gaelic-medium unit in a primary school was established ten years ago in Glasgow; there are now well over 1000 children enrolled in about fifty Gaelic-medium units in primary schools throughout Scotland (G. Parsons, personal communication, December 6, 1995; Sabhal Mór Ostaig, WWW, accessed December 1995; Kemp, 1994). Gaelic is an elective in a few secondary public schools (for ages eleven and above); a few secondary schools offer Gaelic as a medium of instruction (e.g., Stornoway and one Edinburgh high school). The Scottish Language Project is currently working on school materials in English, Scots, and Gaelic, with support from the national government and regional councils.

The five levels of post-secondary Scottish Vocational Education Council (SCOTVEC) National Certificate modules for Gaelic (as for other languages) are offered by several educational institutions, either all or in part. Sabhal Mór Ostaig and Telford College (Edinburgh), offer some or all of these modules by distance learning. Telford currently offers three of the four levels required for

the National Certificate, and is preparing to offer the fourth. Classes (full-time and part-time) require sixty or eighty hours of instruction per level. Reasons given by students for enrolling include personal interest (taking holidays on the islands, having Gaelic-speaking relatives or ancestors, singing in a Gaelic choir) and for jobs (especially broadcasting); a few (mainly in their thirties and older) who learned to speak Gaelic as a child want to learn how to write in Gaelic (C. Redpath, personal communication, December 11, 1995).

Sabhal Mór Ostaig was established in 1973 on the Isle of Skye, and since 1983 has been a registered College of Further Education. It is at present the only institution in Scotland offering post-secondary education through the medium of Gaelic. They offer full-time post-secondary diploma and certificate courses taught in Gaelic in business studies and computer skills (Business Administration with Gaidhealtachd Studies or Information Technology; Rural Development; Gaelic and Communications; Gaelic Arts [forthcoming]). (The one-year Higher National Certificate and the two-year Higher National Diploma courses are made up of SCOTVEC Higher National units.) The number of full-time students is admittedly small, but the annual percentages of increase are not: in 1994-95, they had forty-one students, but that was up from only twenty-seven the previous year; in 1995-96 the number increased to fifty.

In general, the 1970s were bad years for university degree courses in Celtic. Pedagogical materials and approaches for Gaelic were very inadequate, based on a somewhat defeatist attitude: the language was sometimes thought to be "too hard" to teach or learn. Interest and numbers remained low in the early 1980s, but between 1989 and 1992 "a remarkable resurgence" in numbers and commitment began (D. Meek, personal communication, December 12, 1995). At the University of Edinburgh, for example, there are over 150 students in the Department of Celtic (first year to postgraduate); these numbers have

been steadily increasing in the 1980s and 1990s, "due partly . . . to the increasing material and intellectual importance of the Gaelic language in Scotland" (University of Edinburgh, Department of Celtic, 1995).

Similarly, in the academic year 1995-96 there were ten students at the fourth level of Gaelic at the University of Aberdeen; twenty-five new students will be moving on from general studies to Honours Gaelic in 1996-97; and the number of Gaelic Studies Honours students has quadrupled since 1993. The students are very enthusiastic, and are asking for more instruction; they are determined to learn the language fluently, idiomatically, and with native competence (D. Meek, personal communications, December 12, 1995; October 7, 1996). In 1995-96 there were three young (aged seventeen, eighteen, and early twenties) native Gaelic speakers of excellent fluency. Even with these small numbers, a "critical mass" (Meek) seems to have been reached, and the numbers are projected to grow a few percent every year. Furthermore, the postgraduate emphasis is shifting away from "retrospective" Celtic studies (mainly medieval) to "pro-spective" studies (such as the production of a Gaelic-Gaelic dictionary) (the terms are Professor Meek's).

As already mentioned, television (with related materials) has been the means of learning Gaelic for a large number of people in Scotland and worldwide. Cànan's "Speaking Our Language" course, for example, began in 1993 with about 30,000 worldwide inquiries, and has now reached the intermediate level, remaining very popular.

Telford's Open Learning program had already enrolled as many students worldwide by December, 1995, as it had during the entire previous year, and most of their beginning students continue with the language (C. Redpath, personal communication, December 11, 1995). Continuing education programs affiliated with universities (Aberdeen, Strathclyde, Glasgow, Edinburgh), usually composed of sequential modules lasting two or three

months each, also enroll adults at various levels from beginners to advanced. There are an estimated 200 regular learners, at least, in the city of Glasgow, whether in university programs or other classes, and this number may be rather low (J. Malone, personal communications, December 23, 1995; October 1, 1996), and in 1995-96 the University of Edinburgh had to schedule a second beginners' evening class to accommodate their overflow demand.

The University of Edinburgh's summer class had twenty-one students in 1994, but forty in 1995. Sabhal Mór Ostaig offers summer short courses at all levels, focusing on conversation and activities; over 500 students attended in 1994. Other, smaller, programs offering immersion and other courses in the Gaelic language, literature, and culture exist in other parts of Scotland. The first year-long Gaelic immersion college course began in 1994-95 at the Inverness College Lochaber Center at Fort William, aiming to provide fluent Gaelic speakers for Gaelic employment. Funded by Lochaber College, the local authorities, and the European Union's European Social Fund, interest from both Scotland and abroad for the few places was extremely high. More such courses are planned for sites throughout Scotland.

Also associated with many of the formal and informal classes and programs are various organizations, including local societies and festivals. At the universities, student groups sponsor ceilidhs and other entertainment, talks by Gaelic poets and broadcasters, additional language classes, and trips to Gaelic-speaking areas and to see Gaelic plays; many of these student groups also publish their own Gaelic journals.

THE POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

Scotland has established a separate identity in the European Union, and there are two Scottish National Party

(SNP) EuroMPs (MEPs), one of whom has learned Scottish Gaelic and makes an explicit connection between Gaelic and national identity. Scottish Gaelic (as well as Scots, Cornish, and Welsh) is among the European Union's forty 'lesser used languages,' and there is a "campaign for greater official recognition" of these languages (Palmer, 1994). A resolution was passed almost unanimously in February 1994 by the European Parliament "to encourage the learning of minority tongues and to help publishers of books and magazines for the young," in order, as Donall Ó Riagain, Secretary of the European Bureau of Lesser Used Languages, has said, to help maintain and promote "'the cultural and linguistic diversity of the EU'" (Palmer, 1994). As already mentioned, part of the funding for the Lochaber College immersion program came from the EU.

Within Scotland, too, the language issue is often seen as part of educational policy, "as part of their [primary school pupils'] cultural heritage and as a contribution to a multicultural, multilingual education, appropriate to a modern European nation" (Law, 1994).

Although support for the current movement for independence for Scotland now tends to be based much more strongly on political and economic grounds than on cultural issues, including language (C. Milroy, SNP Assistant Press and Research Officer, personal communications, December 11, 1995; October 1, 1996), for some the political issues surrounding constitutional change (whether independence or devolution) and language issues are indeed linked. Recent research by Kim Hardie into the connection between the Scots language and nationalism suggests a model that vièws popular definitions of national (self-)identity as strictly political, strictly cultural (including language), or both (Hardie, 1995). I am currently investigating the question of links between Scottish Gaelic and nationalism.

CONCLUSION

Nancy Dorian's important work—which was clearly labeled as a study of a Scottish Gaelic *dialect*—was valid for that dialect at that time (1981). Now, however, at all levels and in all respects from economic to cultural, although perhaps not in all previously-Gaelic-speaking areas, Gaelic in Scotland seems to be in a period of revival. It is too early yet to say whether or not the language has been permanently rescued from the decline so clearly seen in the census figures, but there is certainly hope. The increase in Gaelic beginners, most of whom have been continuing to more advanced levels of the language, has been present for some years now, but has taken a great leap in just the last couple of years. If these learners show the persistence shown by previous beginners, the numbers of intermediate and eventually advanced Gaelic speakers should soon show a similar leap. The large percentages of increase in numbers of preschoolers participating in Gaelic playgroups is also encouraging, as is the increase in materials for children and the emphasis put on young children by language groups and publishers. As elsewhere, the Gaelic revivalists recognize that a language can only be truly rescued through the children.

Nor is it likely to be accidental that this upsurge of interest in Scottish Gaelic comes at a time of increasing "nationalism" on the part of minorities throughout the world, and coincides with increased popular support for some degree of Scottish independence from governmental control based in London. The details are complicated by the decade or so of some degree of Conservative promotion of Gaelic in the Highlands through government aid (one person, however, suggested that this support was largely done as public relations, to present the Conservative Government as "benevolent to minorities").

Thus, despite the worrisome question publically raised by Dolina Maclennan, an actress on the extremely popular continuing Gaelic soap opera *Machair* (more than 500,000 viewers estimated in 1994), that "The language is being saved but the culture, the way of life is dying and that is what gave the language its meaning" (Kemp, 1994), as a linguist it is hard not to be gladdened by the current state of Scottish Gaelic in Scotland. (The issue of associated cultural activities is properly the subject of another paper.)

The bad news is that Gaelic is certainly not out of danger yet. Nonetheless, the good news was summed up (personal communication, December 12, 1995) by Professor Meek at the University of Aberdeen, a native speaker of Gaelic from Tiree who has been teaching in departments of Celtic in Scotland since the 1970s. He has seen the slow, almost dead, times as well as the current rise in student demand and enthusiasm. According to Professor Meek, who is now viewing an increasing demand actually somewhat difficult to meet in light of the current level of programs and number of instructors, in a way "the problem today for Scottish Gaelic is not language death, but language life."

And—although it would be premature at this time to rejoice too much in the certainty of a permanent state of improvement for Scottish Gaelic—that is good news indeed.

Note

1. This article is based on interviews in Scotland in December 1995, personal e-mail correspondence, the Worldwide Web, e-mail lists, materials collected or seen in Scotland, and published materials (catalogues and informational flyers, newspaper and journal articles, books). My sincere thanks to all who have given generously of their time, especially Donald E. Meek, William Gillies, J. Derrick McClure, Carole Redpath, Craig Milroy, Jon Malone, Gavin Parsons, Rory Watson, Valerie Hamilton and Kim Hardie,

the staffs of Gairm Publications and the University of Edinburgh Centre for Continuing Education, and the Government and Social Science librarians of the UC Berkeley Doe Library.

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APPENDICES: ADDITIONAL REFERENCES AND ADDRESSES

(valid as of April, 1996)

APPENDIX A: SELECTED ORGANIZATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS *(addresses given in English)*:

•*Language organizations*:

—An Comunn Gàidhealach (109 Church Street, Inverness IV1 1EY, Scotland) (http://www.glen.co.uk/mod/an_comun.html)

—An Comunn Gàidhealach America (P. O. Box 5288, Takoma Park MD 20913) (http://www.clark.net/pub/biscuit/acga.html) (e-mail: William Roy: roy@geoserv.isgs.uiuc.edu)

—Comann an Luchd-Ionnsachaidh (CLI) (Gaelic learners' organization) (3 High St., Dingwall, Ross-shire IV15 9HL, Scotland) (http://www.smo.uhi.ac.uk/gaidhlig/buidhnean/cli/)

—Comunn na Gàidhlig (5 Mitchells Lane, Inverness IV2 3HQ, Scotland) (http://www.smo.uhi.ac.uk/cnag/) (e-mail: Ailean Caimbeul Stiùiriche/Allan Campbell: ailean@cnag.org.uk)

—"Forum for Research into the Languages of Scotland and Ulster": http://ling.ed.ac.uk/~kim/Forum.html (e-mail: Kim Hardie: kjmh@festival.ed.ac.uk; mail: Dr. Colin Milton, FRLSU, Department of English, University of Aberdeen, King's College, Old Aberdeen AB9 2UB, Scotland)

•*Universities and colleges*

—Edinburgh's Telford College, Open Learning (Crewe Toll, Edinburgh EH4 2NZ, Scotland) (http://www.ibmpcug.co.uk/~ecs/telford/telford.html) (e-mail: etc@etel.exnet.com)

—University of Edinburgh, Department of Celtic, David Hume Tower, George Square, Edinburgh EH8 9JX, Scotland) (http://www.ed.ac.uk/edinfo/cgi/deptinfo.cgi?35)
—University of Edinburgh, Summer School (Centre for Continuing Education, 11 Buccleuch Place, EH8 9LW, Scotland) (www.ed.ac.uk/edinfo/CCE/SUMMERSCHOOLS_MENU.html)
—University of Aberdeen, Department of Celtic, Taylor Building, King's College, Old Aberdeen AB9 2UB, Scotland (http://www.abdn.ac.uk/~lng014/celtic_dept/index.html)
—University of Glasgow, Department of Celtic, 5 University Gardens, Glasgow G12 8QQ, Scotland (http://www.gla.ac.uk/) (Also the address for the Gaelic Books Council)
—University of Strathclyde (Scottish School of Further Education, 76 Southbrae Drive, Glasgow G13 1PP, Scotland) (http://www.strath.ac.uk/Strath.html) (Unconfirmed: Gaelic teacher training)
—Stirling Gaelic Home Page: http://www.stir.ac.uk/gaelic_index.html

•*Some residential programs (no endorsement implied)*
—Sabhal Mór Ostaig (Isle of Skye IV44 8RQ, Scotland) (http://www.smo.uhi.ac.uk) (e-mail: Gavin Parsons: gavin@smo.uhi.ac.uk) [Also many very useful links, including language lessons and dictionaries.]
—An Ceathramh (Muie East, Rogart, Sutherland IV28 3UB, Scotland) (http://www.cs.toronto.edu:80/~maclean/AnCeathramh.html) (e-mail: anceathramh@mail.enterprise.net)
—Cothrom na Fèinne (Balmacara Mains, Balmacara by Kyle IV40 8DN, Scotland)

•*Selected publishers and booksellers*
—Gairm Publications (29 Waterloo St., Glasgow G2 6BZ, Scotland)

—Cànan (P.O. Box 345, Isle of Skye IV44 8XA, Scotland)
(http://tarbh [or www].smo.uhi.ac.uk/canan/)
(canan@smo.uhi.ac.uk)
—James Thin Ltd. (53-59 South Bridge, Edinburgh EH1 1YS, Scotland)
(http://www.almac.co.uk/business_park/thin/thinhome.htm)
(e-mail: james.thin.ltd@almac.co.uk) [Scottish books,, including some Gaelic; new and antiquarian]

APPENDIX B: ADDITIONAL SELECTED WWW SITES

"Angus Og's Hotlinks to the Celts" ("Every Celtic Thing on the Web"): http://www.mi.net/users/ang/anglink.html
(Very useful links, and lots of them.)
"Rampant Scotland":
http://users.colloquium.co.uk/~scott_awa/intro.htm
(Over 600 links, including newsgroups.)
"*Ethnologue*":
http://www.sil.org/ethnologue/ethnologue.html
"Gaelic and Gaelic Culture" (Irish and Scottish):
http://sunsite.unc.edu/gaelic/
"Less Commonly Taught Languages Project":
http://lctl.acad.umn.edu
(List of North American courses.)
"European Minority (or Minoritized!) Languages":
http://www.smo.uhi.ac.uk/saoghal/mion-chanain (in Scottish Gaelic) *or add* /Failte_en.html (in English)
Gaelic lessons, dictionaries: see Angus Og, Sabhal Mór Ostaig, Rampant Scotland for links; also GAELIC-L list.
"Scottish National Party": http://www.snp.org.uk

APPENDIX C: SELECTED E-MAIL LISTS

GAELIC-L: listserv@irlearn.ucd.ie (subscribe GAELIC-L yourfirstname yoursurname)
(http://sunsite.unc.edu/gaelic/Celts/lists.html)
(archives: http://yeats.ucs.csufresno.edu/GAELIC-L.HTML)

CELTLING: listserv@mitvma.mit.edu (subscribe celtling YOUR NAME)

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Developing Language Awareness in the Irish Language Classroom: A Case Study*

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This study deals with awareness oriented instruction and is based on research in a class of twenty-one post primary students studying Irish. The learners self-report low integrative and instrumental motivational levels for learning Irish and have little prospect of outside-class meaningful exposure to the language. The first section of the paper analyses the language learning background and learning styles of the students and the learning strategies which they deploy in learning Irish are described. The study then focuses on the outcome of a number of pedagogical techniques designed to raise language awareness in the classroom. These include attention-focusing devises in areas of phonology, dialect, structure and lexis. The learning outcomes are described briefly with some conclusions for developing language awareness in the Irish language classroom.

IRISH IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOL

The Irish language has a unique position in Irish schools, being compulsory at both primary and secondary levels. It is of course the first official language of the country and the mother tongue of a minority of our pupils (currently estimated at 5%). It is regarded as an important aspect of the cultural continuity and linguistic heritage of all Irish

* This paper was given at the Third International Conference of the Association for Language Awareness in Trinity College, Dublin, July 1996. The author wishes to register his deep gratitude to the pupils who participated so willingly in this study.

citizens, and its maintenance is espoused by a majority of the population (Ó Riagáin & Ó Gliasáin 1984, 5). Recent surveys of public attitudes (CLAR, 1975; Ó Riagáin 1992) to the language demonstrate a large degree of support among the public for a policy of increasing the bilingual competency of the population. Its promotion through the educational system is seen therefore, as a significant part of a policy of reversing language shift towards various degrees of bilingualism. I have calculated that Irish students are exposed on average to 3,186 hours[1] of formal instruction in the language - excluding non-school contact hours eg. homework, attendance at all-Irish courses, private tuitions, etc.

The Irish language in education has however been long associated with problems of poor motivation and under-achievement. (Ó Laoire 1994). These problems may often begin in primary school. Research conducted by Harris (1984) shows, for example that one third of all primary students make minimal progress in Irish. This figure is borne out by research into students in post-primary schools by Ó Laoire (1982) and by Ó Fathaigh (1991) and by the high rate of failure among candidates of ordinary level as opposed to higher level Irish in the terminal examination, the Leaving Certificate. It is against this background of minimal progress and low self-efficacy expectations that this study took place.

THE IRISH LANGUAGE SYLLABUS AND LANGUAGE AWARENESS

The present syllabus for Irish in the lower secondary school for the terminal Junior Certificate examination, which is in place since 1992 is aimed primarily at helping learners achieve a communicative competence in the language. It was designed and structured largely in the functional/ notional mould. While the development of cultural awareness is mentioned, there is no explicit

reference to language awareness. Increasing importance, however, is attached to developing learners' knowledge of language use (Roinn Oideachais 1990).

The new syllabus for the Leaving Certificate examination does, however, refer explicitly to the importance of developing language awareness in the Irish language classroom. Increasing attention is being given by teachers and learners in the classroom, albeit belatedly, to the lexical and structural points of convergence and divergence that occur between L1, L2 and L3 (French, German or Spanish), with Irish typically being L2 or L1 in the Irish speech communities.

There is an entire component in the syllabus, *An Ghaeilge Timpeall Orainn (Irish all around us)* that is so designed to raise learners' awareness of the role of the language in contemporary Irish society and which aims to help them achieve an integrative understanding of Irish culture.

OBJECTIVES

In the absence of any research to date on language awareness in the Irish language classroom, the primary aim of this study was to determine how aware the students were of the salient differences between Irish, English and L3 (French in this instance), to determine the nature of their noticing capacity, as well as to gain an insight into how such awareness once developed, would influence their *learning styles* and/ or affect motivation. This approach was inspired by Schmidt's (1990) theory of intake facilitation which underlines the cognitive skill of comparison and noticing as a basic operation in the acquisition of L2, and the study also sought to adapt some of the strategies outlined in McCarthy's (1994) framework for developing language awareness in the primary school.

THE PARTICIPANTS

The participants in this short study were 21 first year post-primary students attending an all boys academic secondary school during the Spring term 1996. The school has mainly an urban (population 15,000 +) catchment area with a significent enrolment from the rural hinterland. While there appears to be a policy of non-streaming, the students are nonetheless categorised for instructional purposes according to the choice of subjects they make. I observed a pattern over the many years that I worked in this school in which students who select construction technology subjects on entrance, are more likely to be low achievers or inefficient learners in Irish and modern languages. Such students are traditionally assigned to the A class. The majority of students assigned to this class grouping (as a result of subject choice) over the years would generally opt for ordinary level Irish in the Junior Certificate examination.

The students, whose average age was 13, had all resided since birth in the Republic of Ireland and had had nine years exposure (on average 2493.3 hours formal instruction) to the language. Few of them had any outside-class exposure to Irish with only 9.5 % (2) of them stating that they had ever spent time in the *Gaeltacht* or indigenous Irish-language speech communities. Mostly all (17/21), 80.9%, reported that one or more members of the family knew Irish. A pre-questionnaire item had asked if any member of their families actually used Irish in daily communication. All learners reported that the language was neither used in the home nor community domain and, for this reason, it was decided to reformulate the question to target the more amorphous concept of language knowledge. Most students reported that one or more members of their families knew or liked Irish. One student specified that his mother had studied all subjects through Irish at school, while another said that his father used certain Irish sentences in the army, while two students

stated that an older family member (a sister) liked the language.

PROCEDURES

Two data collection instruments were used in this study. Firstly, the class was asked to respond in English to two pre-questionnaires in November and December of 1995 to gather data on the language learning backgrounds of the learners. Some of the questions asked, e.g. *Describe your background of language learning*, proved to be too complex for the learners. Many items in the questionnaire were reformulated as a result to avoid ambiguity, some were omitted, while many were clarified or simplified in more accessible, learner-friendly language. This pre-questionnaire, while undoubtedly provoking suspicion among the learners, helped nonetheless to focus their attention on themselves as learners and functioned, therefore, as an awareness-raising strategy.

Further questionnaires were administered in January 1996 and the results were analysed in an attempt to chart and describe the *language learning background* or language learning history of the learners. Data was kept in a teacher's diary, outlining the various strategies which were used in formal instruction to foster learners' sense of language awareness.

Second and third questionnaires extended the purpose of the first questionnaire by using retrospective interview-type questions to help identify the students' learning styles in response to LA awareness raising strategies to which they had been exposed in formal instruction classes. The data was meant to probe in greater depth the extent to which awareness-oriented instructional inputs might be internalised by learners in their own learning styles and thus affecting learned outcomes and/or motivation. A final part of the study comprised a think-aloud

recorded interview with the students to clarify certain responses that were given to the questionnaire.

The study would have benefited from longitudinal classroom observation, which would have detected the use of learning strategies and monitored the learning behaviour patterns of the students during the formal expository teaching inputs which focussed on developing awareness. It would also have lent a greater degree of objectivity to the study which, because I was the class teacher as well as researcher, may have been governed too much by personal input and by expected outcomes. However, I was unable to enlist the help of colleagues in the Irish department for this purpose due to the constraints of the timetable.

LANGUAGE LEARNING BACKGROUND

With the dual purpose of testing the validity of the learners' responses in the later context of responding to awareness raising inputs and raising their awareness of their personal repertoire of learning strategies, (cognitive, metacognitive and/or social mediation), it was decided to describe to some extent the students' Irish language learning history. A very detailed pre-questionnaire was simplified to target such areas as affective response to the learning of the language and the learning of other languages (see Appendix A, 2.1), learners' perception of the differences in approaching the learning of Irish and F.L's (2.2/3), learners' self-evaluation of their ability in the language (2.4), as well as a recall of their experience of the language while at primary school (2.5). The responses were then collectively analysed.

DISCUSSION

The vast majority of the learners reported to like learning Irish. Of these, one respondent who, at first had marked a *no* response, crossed it out to change it to *yes*. Many

students added the qualifier *it's o.k* to the *yes* which is deemed in student parlance to be an honest, if somewhat cliché positive response. When asked if they liked learning other languages, 28.5 % reported to dislike learning them. All these respondents, however, had reported liking the learning of Irish. Of the two students who responded negatively to learning Irish, one replied that he liked learning English but did not like learning L3 (in this case, French), whereas the other replied that he found all languages very difficult. Some of the other reasons given for liking language learning are worthy of mention here. One student specified that he enjoys studying other languages because studying English all the time would be boring. Another student said that he liked French especially even though the French teacher was always giving out to him!

The next question in Section 2 of the interview was designed to probe learners' perception of any difference in their approach to learning Irish as opposed to learning L3. Students were therefore asked to respond to this question:

- Is learning Irish different from learning other languages? How?

This was regarded as a significant question, as it was intended to identify and qualify learners' sense of comparative awareness and was further queried in the class interview at a later stage. It is perhaps significant that 80.4% of the subjects affirmed that they regarded learning Irish as being different from learning L3. The four students who replied that their approach to learning Irish was no different from approaching the study of L3 explained that studying all languages was basically the same, that other languages, ie French, were just as hard as Irish (from a respondent who did not enjoy the study of Irish and languages), that French was easier than Irish and significantly that French words resemble English words more than Irish words resembled English ones. The

subjects' responses as to how approaching the study of Irish differed from the study of other languages could be classified as follows:

- Concern about the quantity of material to be learned
  -You have to learn more in Irish than in English [2]
- References to different systems of syntax
  -You have to turn the words around
- References to different grammar systems
  - because of so many rules
  - because of all the different verbs
  - it's hard with the past, present and future tenses very different to English
- Difficulty factors
  - it's harder sometimes
  - Irish is easier and different
  - because it's much harder
  - it's just as hard
- Pronunciation variables
  - because of pronunciation
  - the words are strange and pronounced strangely
- The time differential
  - because I have been studying it for 9 years
- Differences in lexis
  - the words are all different
  - French words resemble English more than Irish do

It became apparent therefore, for learners in this class at least, that the *difficulty factor* was a major element in their perception of the differences they experienced going from L1 to L2. A class-interview was then recorded on tape where learners were invited to explain their responses. It transpired that many of them believe that they

should be more proficient in the language, having studied it for nine years. They were beginning to compare their competences to communicate in French after one term and draw unfavourable comparisons, stating that their competence in terms of being able to complete communicative tasks was only marginally behind competence at performing similar tasks in Irish.

When this response was correlated with their experiences of learning Irish at primary school - formulated in a brainstorming / recall open-ended question- What do you remember about learning Irish at primary school?; the predominant response (57.5%) focused on learning verbs. Verbs were mentioned in combination with a projector (9.5%), with nouns (4.7%), with *comhrá* (conversation) (4,7%), with spelling (4.7%) and with a teacher roaring in class! (4.7%). Other responses indicated that the dominant memories included writing out essays (9.5%), reading (4.7%), and an hour-long instruction (4.7%), and learning the months of the year (4.7%). These responses may underpin learner experience of exposure to formal instruction that focused very much on language form, grammar systems and cognitive approaches to learning, defined by Richards and Rodgers (1984, 60). "....a conscious attempt to organize materials around a grammatical syllabus."

For this reason it was decided to extend the study to determine the extent, if any, to which strategies which learners used were influenced by their experience of exposure to formal instruction of this kind, eg- it would be expected that a classroom emphasising grammatical structure might foster translation, etc.

LEARNER STRATEGIES

In the pre-interview sessions, it was necessary to explain in some length to the students what exactly was meant by strategy. It was apparent that the students had never

consciously and systematically reflected on the nature of the learning process itself, or had never been trained in planning for learning or in monitoring the learning tasks. It was clear also that the evaluation of how well they had learned was generally seen as the responsibility of external agents (parents, peers, teachers).

The research here took cognisance of O' Malley and Chamot's (1990) work on strategies in second language acquisition. The questionnaire as a data collection instrument would determine strategy application based mainly on declarative knowledge. Such strategies that may have been proceduralised would not necessarily be recorded here. In such cases, the strategy may be deployed automatically and the student may not be aware of it. Thus, relatively automatic or instinctive procedures that the learners engaged in may not be isolated here.

Because Irish had rarely been used in communicative situations outside the classroom, learners did not have the external, real communication-situation to use as an evaluative yardstick by which they could realistically measure or infer the progress of their communicative ability in the language. It was clear that their sense of self-evaluation was informed by classroom performance and by school behaviour alone. There was no evidence from the class-interview transcript to suggest that they had reflected on how they interacted with the material to be learned or on how they manipulated or applied a specific technique to a learning task itself. Like school, during the weekends and holiday time, all that was best forgotten.

The class was nevertheless open and apparently excited in discussing their approach to learning and were eventually interested in responding to the following questions:

- How do you learn Irish?
- How do you learn new words in Irish?
- What do you do if you do not understand a word etc?

- Do you learn other languages in the same way?

It was found that most of the students showed similar patters of learning strategies, with repetition being cited as the predominant method- ie (cited by 57.1%) repeating or reading over language items, vocabulary, verbs, a chunk of language until it was committed to memory. This method is thought to be commensurate with short-term recall either for fulfilling homework requirements or in preparation for an examination. In some cases learners specified that repetition amounted to an oral rehearsal activity.

- I say the word over and over in my head
- I would go over it over and over again until I knew it

For most learners, repetition of material to be learned involved writing it repeatedly:

- I learn Irish by reading over words and then cover them up and keep trying to write them out

- I would basically do writing

- Keep writing it out until I knew it

- I learn Irish by trying to write it out and keep looking at it

Silent reading as well as reading aloud were also mentioned by some students. Apart from the strategy of repetition that emerged as dominant, note-taking (14.2%) was mentioned in a sense different from writing and copying out the same material, although learners supplied no evidence that such note-taking might have involved conceptual processing of information. Translation was mentioned by two students:

- *I read and write and write down English beside the Irish, then learn it until it stays in my head*

- *I revise by writing it out and taking notes*

When questioned further about these activities during the class-interview, it emerged that students associated the learning of Irish with a private activity, as "something that happens when you do homework," rather than a social or school-based occurrence.

An interesting and unexpected finding here was the relatively high proportion of students (47.6%) who specified listening as a learning strategy: One particular student's response is worthy of note:

- *I study it and read out loud to see I am pronouncing the words properly. Any new words I hear, I always make a note of them and try to learn them off.*

In all, it appears that the learners reported to use six strategies: repetition, rehearsing orally, writing, note-taking, translation and listening when learning Irish. One student stated however: *I don't know how I do it!* These strategies could be classified as cognitive strategies in that they involve interacting with the material to be learned. The predominant strategy of repetition (ie imitating a language model including overt practice and silent rehearsal) is classified by O'Malley and Chamot (1990:119) as being a cognitive strategy, although it may not be regarded as being particularly cognitive in some contexts. Learning is seen by the learners as memorisation for short-term school-based purposeful recall. It is interesting to note here that learners' use of metacognitive strategies was less apparent to them, with the exception of two students who hinted at self-monitoring - checking accuracy of written production while it was taking place. Two student implied that they used a type of self-evaluation, by checking the outcome of

their written work (once memorised) against the standard version.

LEARNING VOCABULARY

It was decided to gather data on how students learned new words in Irish for two reasons. It was found during the pre-trial questionnaire that this question was more focused than 3.1[3], while secondly, it provided the opportunity to check if any further strategy would be listed, or if any discrepancy would emerge in the responses here when correlated with 3.1.

The responses here correlated very closely with the strategies outlined by learners in 3.1, except in the case of one learner who said that he would try to recall the word a few days later.

Only in the event of not understanding a word or experiencing difficulty did students show evidence of any social mediation strategy. Here, they showed themselves predominantly to be teacher-led. 90.4.% stated that they would simply ask the teacher. Of these, 14.2% replied that they would consult a dictionary or the teacher, 21% stated that they would ask a friend or fellow beside him or a relative or the teacher. One student said that he would ask the teacher if he were in a good mood! Another student did not specify, saying simply that he would ask someone, while another student said that he would leave the word alone. The study therefore had limited success in identifying learning strategies reported to be used by students in learning Irish vocabulary-mostly all appearing to underpin an over-reliance on teacher-directed initiation of the learning process , while perhaps indicating the need for instruction in the use of strategies to assist their learning.

When asked if they used the same strategies they had delineated in learning Irish in the case of L3 learning also, the data yielded that most learners do <u>not</u> use a different approach or strategy. The idea here was to isolate

any variable that was unique to learning Irish as well as to determine the extent of strategy transfer from L1 to L2 or from L2 to L3. 85.7% replied with an unqualified yes to the question: *Do you learn your new language(s) in the same way?* 9.5% replied negatively while one student did not answer the question. The study therefore may show the need to probe in greater detail the influence of learners' L2 (Irish) learning patterns on the acquisition of L3. It also shows that although students had perceived learning Irish to be significantly different from studying other languages, this seemingly did not alter their approach to learning it to any greater degree.

DEVELOPING LANGUAGE AWARENESS

The final part of my study planned to illustrate the extent, if any, to which awareness-raising teaching inputs would affect learned outcomes, learning strategies or the dynamics of motivational behaviour. Given that the relationship between teaching and learning is an indirect and complex one, being affected by many intervening factors and variables, I did not of course assume a direct link between the instructional inputs and learned outcomes. The task was more to determine if awareness-oriented instructional measures would affect students' subjective experience of *noticing* as described by Schmidt (1993). This roughly defined is the ability to notice, or to avert to, target language features. While it is comprised of highly complex variables, it is my understanding that it is just as crucial as attentional capacity to the learning process. Harley (1994) states that an important and crucial function of instruction is to enable this experience to take place. The questions which I posed in the final part of the questionnaire were roughly meant to measure to what extent noticing difference between L1 and L2 had taken place following awareness raising instructional approaches based on a type of contrastive analysis.

It is necessary here to briefly describe these instructional inputs that I recorded in a teachers' diary from February to March 1996.

AWARENESS-RAISING INSTRUCTIONAL INPUTS

The first approach used was an experiential approach where learners were invited first privately, and at a later stage in pairs, to write out the alphabet in Irish and to find letters in English that did not exist in Irish. As a follow-on activity, they were invited to discover sounds in Irish that had no equivalent in English and *vice versa*. This did not appear to be an appropriate activity to begin with, given the students' prior lengthy exposure to the language. The teacher diary for February 12 notes:

> I am apprehensive if this is working. Derek K. remarked that this was a very childish activity, but when I asked him to tell me what he discovered, he said that he never really thought about the fact that there was no letter k in Irish. His neighbour asked me if a if a c was the same as a k. I wonder if I should tell them about the P and Q Celts? Colm C. asked if th was pronounced as h. Then Derek F. asked what the h was. This seems to interest them.
>
> I think they are starting to notice things which they took for granted for so long, but I do not know where it's leading or what to do next.

In a later class input session, I tried to get the students to experience the differences in sounds between the various dialects. This illustration of contrasting sounds and lexical variables as naturally occurring in the dialects appeared to be an interesting activity for making students more aware or conscious of dialect itself and of sound variations. In my diary for February 23, I noted that the students were more interested in activities of this type than in their ordinary group-oriented communicative activities. I also expressed

apprehension as to how little of the target language I was using to develop this awareness.

> I think the class is more at ease and more sure when we speak in English. They appear to be much more relaxed and obviously happier to volunteer and contribute. I worry that my private R & A study might be doing them little good.....

In a third formal awareness-raising activity, the affect of explaining the future tense in terms of contrast and comparison with English was investigated. Students were asked to write down 10 sentences in English, each containing the future tense and to compare their sentences to establish a common denominator. The word *"will"* or *"I'll"* was discovered after some difficulty.

When asked to reflect on what they had learned, some students said that they had never really thought seriously about this before. They were asked to write out 5 similar- type sentences in Irish. This misfired because not all the students (roughly half) were able to formulate sentences in the future tense. Those who had managed it successfully were asked to explain to those who had experienced difficulties until they very slowly noticed and discovered a common denominator. My teacher diary recorded that only one group out of five however were able to notice that the sound */ig /(Munster Irish. /g'/* or the ending /-idh/ was in all of them.

Later they were asked in groups to tell each other about their initial difficulties with identifying or formulating the future, and about how they had noticed the common ending. They were then invited to tell each other their plans for the rest of the evening and to dare each other to do certain things. So I heard- *téifidh mé* which had to be changed to its correct irregular *rachaidh mé* form,... *déanfaidh mé...goidfidh mé.....ólfaidh mé* etc The frequency of using the future tense was increased for a two-three week period to produce an instructional intervention aimed

at promoting experiential noticing. The learners seemed to develop a dramatic ease and confidence in the use of the future in oral activities, but roughly about half failed to use the future accurately in a follow-up communicative type note writing exercise (accepting an invitation to a disco and arranging a date).

FINDINGS

To measure the extent to which the students' learning styles may have been affected by the awareness raising instruction, the following three questions were asked at the end of the instruction period

- When the teacher made comparisons with English, what happened?

Further, learners were asked, once they were aware about a similarity or difference between L2 and L1, if this in fact facilitated the learning of L2 (given that the difficulty factor had emerged earlier as an aspect of which the students were generally aware).

- Once you knew about a similarity, or difference from, English, was Irish easier to learn

- What did you become aware of about Irish recently / this year?

The surprising finding of this study was that even though students appeared to be more engaged by the instructional strategies outlined and that their curiosity about the language had been stimulated,- a slight majority replied that these awareness raising teaching inputs did not in any way facilitate the learning of the language. 52.3% stated that when instructional focus was on the comparative aspects, nothing happened. The standard reply was: *No, it was just as hard as ever.* Another replied *No, it was hard*

because I did not understand what he (the teacher) *was saying.* Another still replied *Well, not really, because whatever you find out, it still stays the same.* It emerged, however, in follow-up class interview that the question, designed originally to simplify and make the processes of awareness more accessible to the students was too concrete and caused some confusion.[4] However, 47.7% stated that such a focus empowered and facilitated short-term learning. One student replied, for example:

> *- It is different because the English and Irish are not said(sic) the same way. Irish changes the words around, and it made it easier to understand. .....you had to keep putting in fadas (sic) (accents)- but it made it easier*

It is clear to some extent that while deductive-type comparative activities did produce noticing, the study did not determine if this noticing affected the learned outcomes in any way. On the basis of a considerable number of responses, there may be some evidence to argue that noticing might in fact facilitate the learning process itself.

CONCLUSION

The focus of this short and limited study involved collaborative learning activities where a class of self-reported low-achievers reflected on the contrastive features of L1 and L2, in this case English and Irish. The limitations of such research are immediately apparent. The study was a small-scale exploration largely reliant on students' capacity for self-reporting. The subjects, in responding to me as their class teacher, may have given replies that they thought I might have wanted to hear and thus distorted expression of their real perception. As a teacher involved in this action research project, it was not always easy to distinguish real outcomes from expected outcomes and there was a tendency to try to control and take responsibility for the results. The study would have

benefited from greater objectivity in the data measuring instruments as well as from collaborative monitoring from colleagues. Furthermore, the data collection tools may have been inadequate in isolating learning strategies automatically used by learners that would evade declarative evaluation.

However, this study constitutes a beginning in research into this important constituent of Irish language classroom dynamics. As well as yielding limited descriptions for the first time of the learning backgrounds, styles and strategies in second-level schools in the Irish language classroom, it showed that for some of the learners, a process of noticing took place following awareness oriented instruction and as a result of the reflective activities which formed part of the study itself.

While a significantly high proportion of learners reported that this noticing process may have facilitated the learning of the language, further and more sophisticated analysis would be required to discover if the knowledge made explicit as a result of the collaborative and awareness-raising instruction feeds in any way into the implicit knowledge system of learners. The study provides a useful perspective on the short-term and wholly classroom-orientated language nature of language learning of some students.

An analysis of the strategies used tends to show that the learners at this stage appeared to associate language learning exclusively with the classroom. This experiment provides support for the view that awareness raising and reflective type activities can be helpful in the classroom and may be linked with the reversal from negative to empowering positive attitudes among learners. Above all, it is a small step in trying to achieve the "inside" perspective of learners - ie an awareness of their learning styles that they themselves report.

Notes

1. Average of one hour daily - 290 days a year at primary school for 8 years=2,320 hours + avearage of 40 minutes for 5 years at post-primary level= (173.3)x5=866.5 hours = 3,186.5 hrs

[2]. Here and throughout the remainder of the paper, I reproduce some of the comments of the learners, thereby providing their "voice" in this study. In this particular case, the responses are presented in no particular quantitative or qualitative order of importance.

[3]. cf. Questionnaire. Appendix A

[4]. cf Appendix A. Section 4 .eg. cf 4.2 When the teacher made comparisons with English, what happened ?

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APPENDIX A : QUESTIONNAIRE

Please answer these questions as fully and as honestly as you can.

Part 1: Background Information

1.1 Age:
1.2. Number of years in school
1.3. Number of years living in Ireland
1.4. Number of years in post-primary school
1.5. Number of years studying Irish
1.6. Have you ever spent time in the *Gaeltacht* ?
1.7. Other languages studied/ you study
1.8. Does anybody in your family know or use Irish ?

Part 2 : Learning Irish and French and /or English

2.1. Do you like learning Irish ?
2.2. Do you like learning other languages ?
2.3. Is learning Irish different from learning other languages ? Explain.
2.4. Would you say that you are good at Irish ?
2.5. What do you remember about learning Irish in primary school ?

Part 3: Learning Irish. How do you do it ?

3.1. Do you find Irish easy or difficult ?
3.2. Did you always find it easy or difficult ?
3.3. What is the most difficult part of learning Irish ?
3.4. What is the easiest part ?
3.5. How do you learn Irish ?
3.6. How do you learn new words ?
3.7. What do you do if you do not understand a word etc. ?
3.8. Do you learn your other languages in the same

way ?

3.9. Do you prefer the teacher to use Irish or English?

3.10. What do you enjoy most about learning Irish ?

3.11. What do you enjoy least about learning Irish ?

Part 4: What was it like ?

4.1. When you try to learn vocabulary, what happens ?

4.2. When the teacher made comparisons with English, what happened ?

4.3. What did you become aware of about Irish this year ?

4.4. Once you knew about a similarity or difference between Irish/ English/ French, was Irish any easier ? How ?

4.5 Give an example of something you learned and how you learned it.

Teaching Forum

Teaching Irish at Antioch College

Ron Crow
Antioch College

Two years ago I had the opportunity to first teach Irish for credit at Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio. Ivan Dihoff, director of the language program there, explained that I was to teach Irish without using any written material. I was even to refrain writing on the blackboard, if at all possible. Since he was describing the immersion sort of sessions I experienced in Ceathrú Rua, I was more than happy to give it a try.

Many of the students are used to the method to begin with, (although by no means all are familiar with it) and that helps tremendously. But the most important aspect to it is, I think, that we are focusing solely on communicating with each other, not on language learning. Through Irish, we build a little community, finding out what our names are, where we are from, what our parents do, what goes on in school, and so on.

The students quickly get used to the artificial conventions the immersion forces upon our conversations. They progress surprisingly quickly. It is a method, however, that makes the instructor (*cainteoir mór*, rather) think fast on his feet. I have a number of props that I use to help out. These mainly consist of a small toy cow and sheep, a couple of Avon glass decanters shaped like cars, a plastic boat or two, and a couple of Smurfs (one in a kilt blowing on bagpipes). You can imagine the laughter they engender.

About half way through the quarter, when they begin requesting it, we do begin to write a bit on the board. At first it is simply a *seanfhocal* or two that they might have learned that day. Eventually, as they get more used to the spelling conventions, I'll show the them the ins and outs of some verb or noun constructions, and then use those

constructions to widen the scope of our discussions. This board work never takes up much time, and I use it only toward the end of the class as a sort of review of the new words we met in class.

Because Antioch students are continually going to remote places on 'co-op,' we have a hard time with continuancy. There have been no consecutive classes, and with budget cuts I suspect that the effort will not last much longer.

For what we do with it, however, immersion works. The teacher is a talker, storyteller, *bréagadóir*, *bithiúnach*, *ropaire*, etc., but the rewards are worth it.

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A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF CELTIC STUDIES, SAINT FRANCIS XAVIER UNIVERSITY, ANTIGONISH, NOVA SCOTIA

Kenneth E. Nilsen
Saint Francis Xavier University

Saint Francis Xavier University (known locally as "Saint F.X.") was founded in 1853 largely by Highland Catholic Scots and their descendants in eastern Nova Scotia. Gaelic was first taught at StFX back in 1891 by D.A. MacAdam (later Father MacAdam), a great advocate of Gaelic, who was a contributor to the Scottish periodical Guth na Bliadhna and later to the Nova Scotia-based Mosgladh. At that time Gaelic was widely spoken, not only in Cape Breton, but also on the mainland of Nova Scotia in

the counties of Antigonish, Pictou and Guysborough. In the first decade of this century courses in Gaelic and Gaelic literature were taught by Reverend Dr. A. MacLean Sinclair, a Presbyterian minister and renowned Gaelic scholar, a native of Glenbard, Antigonish and grandson of the Bard John MacLean author of "A' Choille Ghruamach." In later decades Gaelic was taught by Fr. MacPherson and Monsignor P.J. Nicholson.

In the late 1950s Major C.I.N. MacLeod came to StFX and established the Department of Celtic Studies. Upon the death of Major MacLeod, Sr. Margaret MacDonell became Chair of the department. Sr. MacDonell was responsible for establishing the Cape Breton Gaelic Folklore Project in which Dr. John Shaw collected on tape examples of folklore from Gaelic speakers throughout Cape Breton. This collection is one of the largest archives of spoken Gaelic in North America. A copy of this collection is now housed at StFX in the Angus L. MacDonald Library where it may be consulted by the public. In 1983 with the aid of a grant from the Multiculturalism Directorate the Sister Saint Veronica Chair of Gaelic Studies was established at StFX. Kenneth E. Nilsen became the first holder of the Gaelic Chair in September, 1984. In May, 1992 StFX became the first university in Canada to host the annual conference of the Celtic Studies Association of North America. In September, 1993, Catriona Niclomhair Parsons, a native Gaelic speaker from the Isle of Lewis joined the department.

The StFX Celtic Department has a strong commitment to the teaching of Scottish Gaelic and StFX is the only university in North America to offer three levels of Scottish Gaelic. Other course offerings include: Celtic Literature, Modern Irish, Irish/Scottish Folklore, Irish/Scottish Bardic Poetry and the History of the Gaelic-speaking Scots: Old World and New. The department is actively involved in interviewing and recording the remaining Gaelic speakers of Nova Scotia and in the last

year has directed a major videotaping project of these speakers. The StFX Celtic Studies Department will be hosting the annual conference of the North American Association of Celtic Language Teachers on May 30-31, 1997.

During the year the department sponsors a number of extra-curricular activities including Gaelic Language days, milling frolics, lectures, and film series. The department also works in conjunction with Comunn Ceilteach StFX, an active student Celtic society which sponsors ceilidhs and other cultural events. In 1995 the Celtic Department established a scholarship to send a StFX student to Scotland each summer to study Gaelic.

Suggested Reading:

Cameron, J.D. 1996. A Living Culture: Celtic studies and history at St.Francis Xavier University, Antignish, Nova Scotia. *Celtic Heritage, 10* (2), 20ff.

Dunn, C. 1953. *Highland Settler*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

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Review

COMHAR NA MÚINTEOIRÍ GAEILGE: *Who Said That?*
Dublin: CMG, 1994.

US$25, p+p inc. NTSC (North American) version available.
Available from
Comhar na Múinteoirí Gaeilge,
7 Merrion Square, Dublin 2, Ireland.

Who Said That? is a two-hour video Irish course produced by Comhar na Múinteoirí Gaeilge and Oideas Gael. The lessons are based on a "drama" centering on a "West of Ireland" family of five who hire a young Dublin woman as an au pair. The au pair and the family's teenage daughter win a trip to the Aran Islands in a radio-show contest. Romantic complications only temporarily threaten the teenagers' vacation on Inis Mór.

The very middle-class family are shown at a variety of everyday occupations, which are designed to teach basic conversational Irish. The targeted learners are apparently Irish teenagers, perhaps those preparing to attend a summer school. No information about the purpose or use of this course was supplied with the video, except for the table of contents (a book and audiocassettes are mentioned briefly during the introduction).

Listening comprehension and a functional approach to language learning are stressed; grammar is explained as the need arises. Key phrases and some grammatical inflections are illustrated by subtitles. The actors speak standardized Irish with Connemara accents, at normal conversational speed. Introductory material and translations are handled by a teacher/facilitator, who speaks more slowly with a Munster accent.

The drama is divided into three sections. "Learning segments" precede each section of the drama in Cuid 1 and Cuid 2. In Cuid 3 the procedure is reversed, and then followed by the entire drama, uninterrupted, for the final

half-hour. There is a general similarity of approach between *Who Said That?* and the audiocassette series, *Cogar!*

Cuid 1 was shown recently to an intermediate Irish class of five adults who had been working with the book *Learning Irish*. The students were asked to watch the film and give their opinions; it was explained that the film was meant for beginners and that it was probably meant to be shown over several weeks rather than in a single half-hour.

No one raised any objection to the conversation topics covered by the video; all agreed they would be useful. Several people disliked one or two of the characters, particularly the mother. Some grew weary of the teacher/facilitator; others thought her Irish was easier to understand than the actors'.

The major criticism was directed at the structure of the lessons. All of the students felt they would have liked to see more than brief snippets of the drama at the outset, so that they could try to get the drift of what was going on. This might lessen confusion and the feeling that the video jumped from topic to topic too quickly.

The students especially liked seeing the dialog or vocabulary in subtitles while watching the drama. Some of the most effective moments of *Who Said That?* came when grocery items, or hours of the clock, were shown pictorially, in subtitles and on the audio-track, reinforcing learning three ways. Admittedly, this effect is harder to produce with more abstract material, but a post office scene, where one had a clear idea what was going on, was also effective.

It was impossible not to notice the very relaxed, yet attentive state of the class while the video was screened and this change remained in effect for some time afterwards. Interestingly, although not directed to take notes, everyone in the class did. The two students with the best listening skills questioned the instructor about what they thought was said during some brief untranslated bits of dialog, for instance, during a scene when the au pair is interviewed by a very fast-talking Raidió na Gaeltachta

broadcaster. No one objected to these untranslated moments and everyone expressed enjoyment at hearing Irish spoken fluently and naturally.

An Irish teacher in North America typically faces a roomful of adults, not teenagers. Few learning materials are designed for the particular needs of this group and we must make do with whatever comes our way. Adults, who like order and structure, and who are more self-conscious than younger learners, often find that a functional approach does not cater to their need for intellectual understanding -- often expressed as a desire to "know what we are actually saying." Many here join classes because they like languages and enjoy comparative vocabulary and grammar; others hope to gain insight into the culture of their ancestors. Few start out with any desire to become active speakers of Irish.

Intellectual reasons are perfectly legitimate ones to want to learn any language. Few in this country actually "need" to communicate by means of Irish. Teachers who want to expand on a student's initial point of view often face a long uphill struggle. If seeing "real" people use Irish in everyday situations can help make this struggle a little less steep; if the familiar and comforting medium of television can help work-weary adults focus on infinitesimal points of grammar after a long day then *Who Said That?* works. It is not the video we all are hoping for, but given the near-total absence of video material in Irish, it might be interesting supplemental material for those lucky enough to have video equipment available for classroom use.

(Received April 1996)

Reviewed by Laura J. Guardi
Scoil Uí Lóchain

Materials Received

Ó Dónaill, E. & S. Ní Mhaonaigh. (1996). *Abair Leat! Cúrsa ranga do mhúinteoirí Gaeilge: Leibhéal 1, Cuid 1*. Belfast: Iontaobhas ULTACH [in cooperation with Údarás na Gaeltachta (Letterkenny)].

Ó Maolalaigh, R. (1996). *Scottish Gaelic in Three Months*. No place: Hugo's Language Books Ltd. [with Iain MacAonghuis as consultant].

Ó Murchú, H. (no date). *Cogar: the course* (2). Dublin: RTÉ [with David Little as consultant], 16 pages.

Ó Murchú, H. (no date). *Cogar: the course* (3). Dublin: RTÉ [with David Little as consultant], 48 pages.

The **Less Commonly Taught Languages** (LCTL) Project at the **University of Minnesota** sponsors **CELTIC-T**, a listserv for teachers of Celtic languages. You can subscribe by sending a message to:

listserv@tc.umn.edu

the message to send:

sub celtic-t <yourfirstname> <yourlastname>

Also visit the LCTL project's World-Wide Web site:

http://carla.acad.umn.edu/LCTL/LCTL.HTML

Write to LCTL@umn.edu with questions.

Announcements

CONFERENCES AND WORKSHOPS

- **MLA'96**: Modern Language Association. 27-30 December 1996, Washington, DC. E-mail <<deddington@mtsu.edu>>.
- **Harvard Centenary Lectures**: Celtic Linguistics. Professor Calvert Watkins, Harvard University. Respondent: Dr. Kim McCone, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. 13 February 1997, Cambridge, MA.
- **AAAL'97**: American Association for Applied Linguistics. 8-11 March 1997. Orlando, FL. See <<http://jan.ucc.nau.edu/~aaal97>>.
- **NAACLT'97**: Third Annual Celtic Language Learning Conference. 30-31 May 1997, St. Francis Xavier University, Nova Scotia, Canada. Proposals for papers should be sent to Dr. Roslyn Blyn-LaDrew, NAACLT'97, Penn Language Center, 401 Lauder-Fischer Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA 19104-6330, United States of America or via e-mail to rblyn@sas.upenn.edu. Deadline for proposals is 20 December 1996.

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- **LACUS'97**: Linguistic Association of Canada & the United States. 29 July - 2 August 1997, York University, Toronto, ON. Abstract deadline: 15 January 1997. Contact Ruth Brend, 3363 Burbank Drive, Ann Arbor, MI 48105.

- **ACTFL'97**: 31st Annual Meeting and Exposition. 21-23 November 1997, Opryland, Nashville, Tennessee, United States. Proposals must be postmarked 6 December 1996. Write to ACTFL, 6 Executive Plaza, Yonkers, NY 10701-6801 for membership and conference proposal form information.

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